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than in the case of any other war. This is so, not as a matter of emotion, but as a matter of official opinion and governmental utterance everywhere. That this is so, we may be glad. Our hope is that the German people will by their action end this war before another year has passed. But whether that be so or not, because of the faith and aspiration of the American people in behalf of a world peace based upon righteousness, we face the new year with the "mighty hopes that make us men."

ACCENTS WILD

WE WISH the persons interested in promoting the theory that the way to obtain international peace is through "negotiations now" might address their arguments to those really in need of such arguments, namely, the German people. For any one in America to plead with Americans for "peace by negotiation now" is worse than a child crying for the moon, since the proposal comes from adults, and there may be a few persons who might be influenced merely by seeing such proposals in print. The people behind this Quixotic movement think they are thinking. They conceive that they have "millions of followers" in the United States. They fancy "a following" in Italy, France, England. They look upon those nations as well as upon ours as composed mostly of revolutionists bent upon ending the war by the simple process of ending the war. Like the Bolsheviks in Russia, they are now expecting the Italians to throw down their arms on the Piave, the French to overthrow the Clemenceau Ministry, the Radicals in England to kick out the "War Party," Scheidemann to eliminate the Kaiser, and the peoples everywhere to rule shortly in the name of "a general democratic and negotiated peace." For these end-the-war-now people, the settlement of this war is a simple, a very simple matter. Briefly, all that is to be done is to "let the people speak." Bring them together. Let them talk. Didn't the President at Buffalo say that "a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face?" What is simpler? "Let us substitute thinking for killing"; let us settle this war the way the Catholic Church elects a Pope. Bring German and Allied missions together "in some secluded spot" and make them "virtual prisoners until they arrive at some agreement." "The rulers have failed to prevent war. Is any part of our civilization to be saved? The people must save it. Russia has cast out her political and economic tyrants." "The Russian people rule, and Russia has done more than any other nation to repudiate the war and to demand an immediate democratic and permanent peace." As Mr. Scott Nearing said on the 29th of November: "If the voice of the people is heeded, negotiations will

be begun at once; the Peace Conference will be convened; the world will be war free by Christmas."

The *New York Call*, under date of November 11, said editorially that "while the capitalist and financier has lost power in Europe, the Socialists are gaining it," and that "a peace can and will eventually be realized by every nation through social revolution and the complete overthrow of their ruling class element." The People's Council is opening headquarters in Washington for the purpose of lining up legislation in favor of a general democratic peace by "negotiation now."

A correspondent, a Massachusetts clergyman, dropped from his office by his parishioners for disloyalty, assures us that "it is not true," as we recently said in an editorial, "that a triumphant Germany would destroy every hope we have for a world governed by justice, and that what we mean by civilization is therefore hanging in the balance." He adds: "It makes relatively only a slight difference to civilization which side wins a particular war. Peace will enable all the belligerents to resume a normal life and really advance civilization." He says further: "We are morally bound to dispute a law which commands an immoral action. . . . I did not tacitly agree to obey the laws, regardless of their moral quality, and of their moral quality I myself must be the supreme judge in so far as my action is concerned. . . . The sensible way to end the war is to end it, not to win it; this is to substitute the civilized method of discussion and mutual concession for the asinine method of slaughter and destruction. . . . It is my duty to protest against the present policy of my Government and to do my utmost by the legitimate methods of democracy to secure the adoption of a peace without victory policy."

It is such immature views of infinitely pathetic groups that stirred the President of the United States to say:

"I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a Nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm and indomitable power of the Nation. I hear men debate peace, who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the Nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten."

Why will these sincere lovers of peace forget the almost pathetic attempt on the part of our Government to maintain peace through negotiation through two and a half long and distressing years? Why will they ignore the fact that the United States Government is now acting only through its representatives chosen by the people? Why do they ignore the further significant fact that we as a people have said, in the only way open for

us to give expression to our views, that we now propose to bring the German Government to terms and end the war?

Why will these rarified souls insist upon peace as the one goal of the present world situation? There were many years of international "peace" prior to August 1, 1914. Germany was at peace with France for a generation; Russia had had over a decade of international peace. But that type of peace led to the rape of Belgium and France and of America. The peace that now we must work for is a durable peace—a peace that can never be won by those willing to bargain for a temporary peace. A peace by negotiation now would mean a German victory unless the negotiations are initiated and pledged for by the Imperial German Government unmistakably backed by the German people. Unbroken military Germany makes any international peace worthy of the name impossible, for the only peace that will be acceptable to a world disillusioned at last is the peace of justice.

EDITORIAL NOTES

"A Contented Army."

The United States purposes to have a "contented army," and Raymond Fosdick is attending to the business.

It is true that there are reasons for believing that everything is not as it should be with our soldier boys. The Surgeon General of the United States is authority for the statement, based upon personal inspection of the camps, that "very serious sanitary conditions" exist. We are told that there is a lack of winter clothing, a shortage of tentage, overcrowding, and inadequate hospital facilities. There is an abnormally high death rate from pneumonia due to the lack of proper clothing and the absence of heat in the barracks. While the clothing situation bids fair to be relieved at once, it takes time to build base hospitals and to provide their equipment.

On the top of this we also hear unpleasant rumors about the Shipping Board, of its contracts, of its ship-building efficiency, of its red tape and indecision. We understand that ample funds are at the disposal of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate for an inquiry which is now being pressed during the Christmas recess. We understand that the Merchant Marine Committee of the House is carrying on an investigation of its own. In the meantime Chairman Hurley is busily engaged reorganizing the Shipping Board.

On the top of all this the lack of co-ordination between the various "Boards," a co-ordination provided for by the Germans under their General Staff, and by France and England under a Secretary of Munitions, is now embarrassing our efforts seriously as we plan to

meet our obligations on the line of battle. But whatever the facts in the case of the army, or in the case of the navy, it is reasonable to expect mistakes, delays, even inefficiency and the evils which follow in their wake. And yet all these difficulties will be met and overcome. They have been met and overcome in Europe, they will be met and overcome here. If we may paraphrase Disraeli's famous remark, we have the brains, we have the brawn, and we have the money, too.

In spite of the conditions complained of, however, our army is to be "a contented army," and it is becoming more so each day. Never before in history has a great nation raised an army with the idealism that America is now going about the job. Every cantonment with a library, a Y. M. C. A., an athletic instructor, a leader of singing, a hostess house! A nation with a singing and contented army! That is the thing we are developing in our midst. The immoralities and the crimes thought to be necessary accompaniments of all armies heretofore, are being eliminated in the case of our army by the expulsive power of new affections. History will give great credit to the men who protected our army from the perils of immoralities which have more than decimated all armies heretofore; indeed, which have reduced by one-third the effectiveness of European armies in this war. These facts should be widely advertised, especially among those whose boys are now in the army or are soon to be there. It will hearten them immeasurably. But not only is this encouraging for the fathers and mothers of our soldier boys, it is encouraging for every American who realizes, when he stops to think, that these are the boys who are to come back to us, and to run America as did the returned soldiers after the American Revolution and after the Civil War. The American Peace Society wishes to express to the Committee on Training Camp Activities its appreciation of the efforts in behalf of "a contented army."

An Intelligent Army.

The "contented army" described above is not enough. Our army must be an intelligent army. In building armies heretofore the invariable aim and single aim has been to organize effective fighting units. The army might be discontented; it might be immoral; it might be brutal; the important thing has been that it should be a fighting army. So far as we are able to learn, the attempt never has been made, except possibly in the case of the Crusades, to utilize to the full the dynamics of a rational basis for the proceeding.

The aim of Mr. Raymond Fosdick and his workers to produce "a contented army," to keep men while engaged in the unnatural and abnormal business of learning to